DRAMA FOR DEVELOPMENT:
Sundanese Wayang Golek Purwa, an Indonesian Case Study

By Kathy Foley

If the mimetic and dulcet poetry can show any reason for her existence in a well-governed state, we would gladly admit her, since we ourselves are very conscious of her spell.

—Plato, The Republic, X

The ancient quarrel between philosophy and poetry caused Plato to ban the arts, which feed the passions, from his republic, but current use of the performing arts in transmitting development messages might persuade even Plato that the arts are more than justified in the well-governed state. Non-formal education programs utilizing folk media, especially dramatic forms, have served as effective modes of raising consciousness on family planning, health care, and economic development in a number of countries. In India in 1971 the Directorate of Publicity in Bombay employed forty entertainment troupes performing over the year to one million viewers in four hundred villages to incorporate health and development messages in their shows.¹

In Ecuador the non-formal education project undertaken by the government in collaboration with the University of Massachusetts in the early 1970's used puppets and socio-drama along with a variety of games to motivate people to develop mathematical, social, and reading skills.² In Indonesia, traditional puppet and dance forms have been used increasingly in recent years by the government to promote its development program. In West Java wayang golek purwa, a wooden rod puppet form, has been extensively used for this purpose.

Current interest in the use of traditional entertainment forms as vehicles of non-formal education has prompted a number of conferences on this topic. In 1972 a UNESCO/IPPF conference was held in London to draw up guidelines for using traditional media in publicizing family planning using the logic that, “No communication strategy would be complete unless it included the traditional media,” since, “they have always served to entertain, educate, to reinforce existing ideas or ideologies or to change existing values and attitudes.” As a result of this conference a meeting was held in New Delhi in 1974 in which eight Indian folk forms were used to present family planning messages as a kind of case study. Projects in the Philippines, Mexico, and other countries have followed directions indicated by these conferences.

Using the wayang golek purwa of Sunda, the mountainous region of West Java, Indonesia, I would like to undertake a case study of the use of this traditional form to present development messages. Although the case is specific, it has importance both in its own right and as a general model of powers

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and pitfalls of the use of traditional media by modern governments.

The Form and Its Context

The wayang golek purwa uses wooden rod puppets in an all night performance which takes place outside on a raised stage. A single storyteller, called a dalang, manipulates the puppets, speaks all their voices, gives narration, and sings mood songs to tell stories of characters found in the Indian epics, The Mahabhata and Ramayana. Musical background and interludes are provided by the gamelan orchestra of bronze percussive instruments and one or more female singers. Although stories presuppose events that are described in the epics, most performances deal with events that are never mentioned in the standard literary versions. To make an analogy to western theatre, imagine plays about Hamlet showing him as a child or in his student days in Wittenburg, but always aware of the destiny that awaits him.

Wayang golek normally take place in connection with selamatan (ritual feasts) held for weddings, circumcisions, exorcisms, and occasionally, are performed for forty day ceremonies for a newborn child or bersh desa, a ritual “cleaning of the village.” It is the most popular entertainment form of the twenty-two million Sundanese who live in the western part of Java, an island the size of New York State; the population density of 1,600 per square mile makes Java the most highly populated large area on earth. This density, coupled with one of the world’s lowest gross domestic products, has prompted the current government to opt for formal family planning and development programs. Although there is a high degree of self-sufficiency in the villages, Java in particular and Indonesia in general cannot produce enough rice to feed the population, and to the villager rice is synonymous with life itself.

Mass media are reaching an ever growing, but still limited audience. In 1975 the average cinema attendance in Indonesia was about one per era per 1000 inhabitants; there were thirty-seven radios and two televisions for each 1000 people. Outside the cities, electricity is generally available only certain hours of the day in those villages that possess a generator and this limits transmission of mass media to those areas. It is little wonder that there has been a continually growing effort by the government to use wayang to reach rural audiences and indicators point to an increase. The government has recently expanded efforts to incorporate dalang into national artistic organizations, and in 1978 a multimillion dollar contract was signed by PENMAS, the Indonesian directorate of education for the people, with the Center for International Education at the University of Massachusetts for technical assistance to a non-formal education project that would employ traditional media, presumably including wayang, to implement its program.

Legitimacy

There are critics who protest the use of art to carry development messages for varied reasons. Some point out that the major appeal of the art form is emotional while the argument for development is largely a rational one. Others point out that the message becomes contaminated by other, traditional concepts presented in the performance. Still others protest the violation of art by its use for political purposes. Each of these protests bear some validity in the case of the wayang golek purwa.

Indeed wayang moves the viewer through emotion. One of the earliest records of the existence of wayang from Arjuna Wivaha composed between 1085-1049 attests to this: “There are people who weep, are sad and aroused watching the puppets, though they know they are merely carved pieces of leather manipulated and made to speak. These people are like men who, thirsting for sensuous pleasures, live in a world of illusion; they do not realize the magic hallucinations they see are not real.” Still, no development program is going to argue with success. When wayang mentions family planning, for example, it is at least one more reinforcement of a concept: as awareness grows, acceptance, and, eventually, practice become more possible.

The fear that traditional features of the form may work against the development message seems more germane, for wayang does contain many elements that would seem to contradict the message: In the case of family planning, for instance, people in my village would often use the newly-learned English term “playboy” to type Arjuna, the heroic Pandawa brother from the Mahabharata cycle who appears in many of the plays that are performed. The number of his marriages and, hence, mandatory offspring is almost beyond reckoning. What is more the image of the female presented in almost all performances is of a passive creature who is kidnapped or josted over. She is given in marriage to the hero that merits her, but is rarely an active participant in her fate.

But, although such features are ingrained in the mythos and ur-patterns of wayang performances, creative and valid ways have been found to endorse development messages. Of the forty-seven major dalang that I interviewed formally and the many others with whom I conversed informally during my fourteen months of field study in West Java, all claimed that they
have included development messages in their performances. They most frequently cited examples of ways to incorporate family planning messages. Many dalang would use the contrast of 100 unruly Kurawa, born of one mother, and five peace-loving Pandawa brothers, born of two mothers, as an argument for small families. In Sunda it is usually the need and greed of the former clan that cause the troubles that lie at the base of the Mahabharata cycle stories.

All the dalang claimed that they used the pawongan, the clown-servants of the Pandawa, to slip in development themes, since it was these characters who could be able spokesmen of development without violating the form. The argument is justified. Arjuna and his brothers are aristocrats who can only talk of the mythic events that make up the story. Any reference to the present would be considered a violation of the form. But the pawongan Semar and his sons are commoners whose life and lot are much closer to the reality of the audience. By tradition, they can refer to current events and talk of or even to a member of the audience without violating the form. When the father, Semar, complains that schools are built but there are no funds for maintenance, when his son, Astrajingga, says he is too stupid to undertake a mission because he never went to school, or when another son, Dawala, chides his brother for wanting to run off to "make his fortune in the city" instead of dealing with the problems of their village, the audience identifies and knows that it is modern times rather than mythic times to which the pawongan refer.

What is more, though these characters are clowns, and much of their talk is buffoonery, they have a special twist. Semar, the father, is actually the older brother of the high god who rules the universe. The audience knows despite all his clowning around, what Semar says is actually more meaningful than the dialogue of most of the other characters combined. Therefore, the most usual way that a dalang inserts a development message is in a speech of Semar. In performances I have seen, this is usually at Semar's first appearance. As the musical instruments clang, Semar pops up and delivers a speech during which he congratulates the family that is having the feast. He then goes on to express the personal feelings of the dalang on whatever topic he chooses to discuss. On a number of occasions, dalang chose to speak of development.

Also I found development messages included in the lyrics of the sinden, the female singer. Most singers had in their songbooks two songs that have been issued to them by government offices, and which they said they used to sing. One was on reforestation and one on family planning. A literal translation of a portion of the latter runs as follows:

Let's go register for family planning and seek our aims for a happy home . . .
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Characters from the Hindu pantheon, any Sundanese dalang will swear that wayang was created by the wali, the Muslim leaders who proselytized Java, to teach Islamic religion. Dalang in Sunda believe the first wayang were performed in the mosque. To enter the performance, a viewer had to swear to his belief in Allah and the Prophet. Certainly the Hindu stories were revised to fit Muslim ethics after the introduction of Islam. Moreover, in an elaborate attempt to reconcile the contradictions implied in the conflicting Hindu-Javanese and Muslim world views, wayang has evolved a genealogy that makes the Javanese kings the descendants of the wayang gods, but all ultimately descended from Adam who was created by Allah, thereby endorsing the Hindu tradition, the Muslim religion and the Javanese kings all at the same time.

Wayang has always been used to validate religious and political ideas. To expect it to support the present political and social program is not unnatural.

Recent history

The use of the wayang for governmental purposes has expanded since Indonesian independence. Dalang were first openly recruited to support a political stance by the Japanese occupation forces. But it was when the revolution began in 1945 that they took to this new role with enthusiasm and used their art on the fronts to stir up the patriotism of the troops. After independence dalang were called upon by the Sukarno government to continue their mission as “information officers” and support his political manifestoes.

The first “upgradings,” meetings of dalang called by the government to inform them and gain their support in advertising government programs, seem to have begun about 1962 in Sunda. Shortly afterward, in 1964, the first conference of the newly organized Sundanese dalang organization was held. The president of the organization, who worked for the government controlled radio station, called Sukarno the “great dalang” and pledged the organization to help the government in nation building. In the period prior to 1965, many dalang were affiliated with the political parties that then existed. When political disturbances occurred in 1965, many performers who were supporters of the previously legal communist party (PKI) were arrested and imprisoned. Since then, the government has required all artists to register with the Department of Education and Culture. Dalang are obliged to obtain travel permits to go to performances they have been hired for and the person who has hired them must obtain a special permit to hold the performance.

The use of wayang golek to support specific government development programs seems fairly recent. In the case of the family planning, which has been the most active program in enlisting the support of the dalang for relatively non-political purposes, the major push was from 1974-1976. During this period a series of up-gradings for dalang as well as artists from other genres were held at the provincial and regency level by BKKBN, the Indonesian government office in charge of family planning. In 1975 the city of Bandung, the capital of West Java, had a week of performances that focused on family planning, using different traditional forms. In 1972 and again in 1976 films were made by the BKKBN that used wayang golek to transmit a family planning message.

In the past few years efforts by such individual programs as BKKBN have subsided, but government influence persists. The up-gradings continue on a regular basis, but those I attended seemed more concentrated on the level of the art, with a mandatory call to generally support the government programs, than on giving performers specific information on any program that they could pass on to their audiences. The most noticeable recent development is the increase of government founded organizations for artists, which are, in theory, non-political. PEPADI, the Union of Dalangs of Indonesia, is one such organization, and only last year the government started BKKNI (The National Organization for Co-ordinating the Arts of Indonesia) which includes all Indonesian artists in its ranks.

Although these organizations have been increasing pressure on the dalang to preserve the cultural status quo, the dalang has been called upon by the Sukarno government to continue their mission as “information officers” and support his political manifestoes.

The reason that the government is anxious to keep dalang helping to publicize its program is that dalang are indeed heeded by the rural population. Wayang fulfills most of the requirements that have shown to make a form a useful...
tool to transmit a development message. The audience is familiar with it and accustomed to its use for development purposes; the educational messages that are included by dalang are generally simple and well emphasized; other media such as radio and TV reinforce the messages; and, at least in areas that border the cities, the government services promoted by the wayang are available. Added to this is the authority that the dalang himself gives to the message. He comes from and speaks to his people. The older dalang is often considered religiously powerful and frequently called upon to bless holy water that is variously used for healing sickness, helping end martial problems, or getting a promotion. A major dalang is one of the richest and most honored members of his community. Top dalang make $200 to $400 a night and perform on the average twenty nights a month. They earn far more than most educated city people could ever dream of, much less the average rural person. What is more, the dalang conceives of himself as in the tradition of the Muslim saints and believes it is his duty to give information that will benefit the community he serves. When he is convinced of a program, he takes the initiative in carrying the message to the people. The family planning program in West Java, for example, had taken virtually no action since 1976 to encourage dalang to include messages in their performances, yet in 1978 this was the government program that was most frequently and positively mentioned in wayang golek performances that I saw. It must be noted, too, that virtually none of these dalang were receiving any form of payment for their efforts.

Wayang has been an effective aid to the development program and can undoubtedly be even more effective, as problems that beset programs are eliminated by government vigilance, and services become more available in rural areas. Even greater impact might result if a system of communicating detailed information about the particulars of each program were established. This might give dalang greater conviction in the programs and, through greater knowledge, better mastery in presenting the material to their audience.

Communication should be encouraged both ways. Criticism of what is wrong with the world has always been a function of wayang, as of theatre forms in many cultures. Wayang makes a positive contribution to government programs by pointing out their weaknesses as well as giving information about them. This aspect of wayang should be safeguarded, and dalang should be encouraged to express their opinions, for although they have been given a mandate by the government, their original mandate is from the people, whose best interests they, like the government, ultimately must serve.

Footnotes

1 Tevia Abrams, "Folk Theatre in (Continued on page 6)
CLI research staff grows

Two scholars joined research teams in the Culture Learning Institute late in 1978.

Dr. Kathleen Wilson, a specialist in curriculum and instruction has played a significant role in the shaping of the new project entitled, "Problems in International Cooperation," of which she is coordinator.

Dr. Wilson was vice president of programs and publications of the International Girls Club and Camp Program, 1970-75. She served as administrative assistant to the Indonesia Project of the Institute for International Studies at Michigan State University and was an instructor in education. She was also acting director of Educational Design Associates.

Dr. Wilson earned a PhD in curriculum and instruction from Michigan State University in 1978.

Dr. R. P. Anand has joined the project, "Cultural Problems in Treaty Negotiation," and will work closely with research associates Dr. Choon Ho Park and Dr. John Walsh as well as a team of research fellows and other CLI participants.

A scholar of international law, Dr. Anand earned a JSD degree from Yale University in 1964. Prior to joining the East-West Center, he was professor of international law and head of the international legal studies division of the School of International Studies at the Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi. Anand has received fellowships and awards for academic excellence in legal studies. His publications include eight books as well as numerous articles on international law.

How many more of us can the world hold and sustain? Can we consume our resources at present rates, take care of the wastes, and maintain a viable environment? When cultures encounter each other through governments, corporations, and international organizations, will we benefit or suffer? Can we communicate better to get answers to these questions? What can be done to mobilize human energy and intelligence to solve human problems?

At the East-West Center we bring together people from Asia, the Pacific, and the United States to analyze problems and search for alternative solutions. Here you'll find scholars, national policy planners, corporate decision makers, and graduate students. The challenge is to work together in an atmosphere of equality, mutual respect.

The East-West Center is an axis for ideas and action, a place for building better relations and understanding. Together, as world partners, we can shape a better future for our planet.
ASEAN TREATIES & CULTURE LEARNING:
A look at the planning of an EWCLI project

By John E. Walsh

In an earlier Culture Learning Institute Report (January 1978) I outlined some of the thinking that led our project team to hypothesize that treaty negotiating and treaty making might be richly insightful sources of culture learning. In that article I stressed treaties as the formal, official and primary means by which governments interact with other governments. Treaties are essentially cross-national and cross-cultural; as such they can be seen as reflecting or refracting in specific concrete situations the thinking and the valuing of the parties (countries) signatory to them.

Having agreed that research into treaty negotiating and treaty making might well open the way to a deeper and clearer understanding of the cultures involved, the project team faced the problem of determining which kinds of treaties and indeed which actual treaties would be most likely to serve our purposes. Most countries are party to a wide range of treaties, some of highest importance and some of lesser importance. It would be necessary to select from the many thousands of treaties now in force throughout the world those that seemed to promise the fullest measure of culture learning output.

The purpose of this article is to report on how the project team came to select the ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) treaties, to indicate what the project's objectives are, and to suggest briefly how we now plan to proceed toward the accomplishment of those objectives.

Contemporary significance

The research team this year consists of: four graduate degree-seeking students (one from Thailand, one from Vietnam, and two from the United States); three research interns (Taiwan, Philippines, and the United States); one research fellow (India); three permanent staff members (Korea, India, and the United States). As we began our discussions about which treaty or treaties might best lend themselves to the kind of "culture learning" research we had in mind, the criteria according to which we would make our selection began to emerge.

First, we agreed that we wanted to select a treaty or treaties that had a high level of contemporary significance. We wanted, in other words, to be convinced within ourselves that the research we would do and the other activities we would engage in would be of interest to the wide thoughtful public in many different countries rather than just to those in academic circles or specialized office. "Who is going to care?" or "Who is it going to make a difference to?" were frequent questions as we considered such treaties as those on the law of the sea, on outer space, on human rights, on border questions, on the United Nations Charter, on educational exchange, on tariff agreements, on the International Court of Justice and the development of international law, and even on strategic arms limitation. All of these and others recommended themselves to our consideration precisely because interest in them is so widespread. But no one of them was sufficiently weighty to convince the team as a whole against the doubts and hesitancies of this member or those members.

Secondly, we wanted to select a treaty or treaties in the making of which cultural variables and differences would be prima facie pronounced. Our thinking here was that many of the most important treaties are on matters of such generally recognized importance or are an attempt to answer such urgent felt needs that countries accede to them almost as a matter course. Details of how these treaties are to be financed and administered may cause serious disagreements but no one doubts that the treaties are in essence good and necessary. The treaties establishing the World Health Organization, the World Food Organization, or the Universal Postal Service would be examples of this type. Keeping in mind that our objective was not to study the intrinsic technical legal aspects of the treaty, nor whether the treaty was an equal or fair treaty, nor what its binding force might be in international law but rather what is revealed about the cultural attitudes, values, ways of thinking and world views of the signatory countries, we did not spend much time in discussion of treaties of this type.

Third and more practically, in keeping with the general orientation of the Culture Learning Institute and the East-West Center, we wanted to select a treaty or treaties broad enough in scope so that the necessary research and related activities could engage the

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interests and the expertise of an interdisciplinary, multi-cultural, and multi-level research team over the project's five year life span.

In the light of these three criteria, it is not surprising that when the ASEAN treaties were brought up as a possible focus for the project the immediate reaction of the team as a whole was to agree that the proposal deserved much further and more serious consideration. The idea met each of the three criteria relatively fully. (1) The ASEAN TREATIES are of immense importance not only to the ASEAN countries themselves but to the rest of the world as well. (2) The ASEAN treaties bring together in a regional organization five countries with widely different languages, histories, customs, religions and legal systems, in short, with widely different cultural identities. (3) The ASEAN treaties are broad and general rather than being particularized or special purpose treaties. They are therefore nicely suited to interdisciplinary and multi-cultural research.

The fact that all five of the ASEAN countries, Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore, and Malaysia regularly send participants to the East-West Center was seen as a further reason for selecting the ASEAN treaties.

One point remained to be clarified, however, before the team members could all agree on selecting the ASEAN treaties as the team's central focus. Some members expressed doubts — as did a number other knowledgeable people with whom we discussed this matter — that the ASEAN treaties had been in existence long enough to have, as yet, been the cause of any very deep or widespread socio-cultural changes. A preliminary and therefore somewhat superficial checking, however, favored the conclusion that many changes have already taken place because of the ASEAN treaties, again both within ASEAN itself and in the attitudes of other countries toward the regional organization as a whole and to its individual members. Equally important, certain movements and trends have been set in motion and these are likely to lead over time to socio-cultural changes of vast proportions. The project will be considering the trends and the dynamics of change as well as the changes already clearly evident.

All of these considerations pointed to the consensus finally reached by the project team, namely, that the ASEAN treaties presented an excellent opportunity for culture learning through the study of treaty negotiation and treaty making and that a widely significant high quality research project could be developed with them as the fundamental points of departure. The project would be entitled "The Socio-Cultural Impact of the ASEAN Treaties." The process through which we team members had gone in arriving at this decision was in itself a deep, genuine and personal form of
Project objectives

All East-West Center projects have as their ultimate aim and objective the creating of better understanding and more friendly cooperative relationships among the peoples of Asia, the Pacific, and the United States. Within this over-arching objective, the Socio-Cultural Impact of the ASEAN Treaties Project has three more immediate or proximate objectives:

1. To engage in cross-cultural collaborative or team research in a process which has its own reality, validity and authenticity as a form of mutual learning. Reference has already been made to the importance of this process. The members of the team, made up of representatives of several different cultures, learn as they go along how members of other cultures perceive things, how they order their values, how they behave, and how their sensibilities and emotional patterns vary and change. Throughout the project the team meets once a week — or oftener as necessary — to report on progress, to share research resources and discoveries, to share common problems, and to give each other the benefit of their diverse cultural insights.

2. To generate and publish a series of publications that contain the findings, conclusions and interpretations of the research. These books will each be on a specific subject but taken as a whole they will constitute a thorough study of the Socio-Cultural Impact of the ASEAN treaties.

While it is anticipated that scholars will find the individual volumes and the entire series helpful, the books will be intended primarily for a general readership. As such they might well be used as required readings or as references in schools, colleges, and continuing education programs. In a further effort to make sure the results of the research are disseminated as widely as possible, the books in the series will be considered as possible basic resource materials for the making of documenting films and videotapes for use on public television. The authors and principal investigators will have this possible audiovisual use of their materials in mind as they gather data, make their analyses, and write their books. Though it will not be the controlling factor, it will help to determine how the authors proceed in their research and how they order and write up their findings.

Two further pursuits about the proposed volumes should be mentioned. The first is that there is a growing interest on the part of large nations and small around the world in the ASEAN countries and their imaginative experiment in regional organization. The volumes in this series will be written in English, although some of the principal investigators and authors will be Asian. The subject matter is such, however, that translations into other languages might be highly useful and desirable. If this should prove to be the case, every effort will be made to make sure the books are translated and published in various countries.

The second is that its treaties are coming to be seen as playing a greatly increased part in the life of every nation. Yet the knowledge of treaties, how they are made, how they become law domestic and international and, how they directly influence the day-to-day existence of the average person is either not available or is just not appreciated and understood. The series on "The Socio-Cultural Impact of the ASEAN Treaties" is also seen as a way of helping to fill the great gap most people feel between their knowledge of treaties and the role and meaning of treaties in their lives. In short, it is expected that the series will demonstrate clearly that treaties do have an immense impact on the social and cultural life of any of the peoples who enter into them.

3. A third objective of the project, which will be implemented however only as funds become available, is the creating at the Culture Learning Institute of a Documentation Center on ASEAN. There are already a number of first-rate South East Asian studies centers in various parts of the world. The project seeks to develop close collaboration with these. The Culture Learning Institute's Documentation Center on ASEAN would be, so far as we know, the only such center in the Pacific and its purpose would be to make these necessary research materials available to scholars in this region. This Documentation Center would concentrate on such things as official documents, speeches, editorial commentaries, periodical references, and basic reports. It would include only the most authoritative books and those that are not readily available elsewhere.

As far as we have been able to determine, the work in our Project supplements rather than duplicates the work being done in the above-mentioned South East Asian Studies centers. Our emphasis on the socio-cultural impact of the ASEAN treaties appears to be a distinctively different approach.

Project plan

The planning of the project, at the time of this writing, is well underway but is by no means complete. In this, the concluding section of this report, I would like to mention some parts of the overall plan on which we have now reached general agreement and also indicate some major areas that still need further thinking and clarification.

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We have agreed that the work of the project will be thematic rather than country-by-country. What this means is that the principal investigators will be responsible for researching a given "socio-cultural impact" through the five countries rather than studying the different socio-cultural impacts within any one country. Five such themes have now been selected and our intention is to add others. These five themes are themselves subject to change or modification as further research throws more light on them. They are: (1) The impact on the legal system; (2) the impact on archipelagic thinking; (3) the impact on scientific and technological development; (4) the impact on international perspectives; (5) the impact on educational theory and practice.

The principal investigators will be assisted in their research and writing by members of the team according to the team member's interest and field of specialization. One of the team members, who is expert in quantitative analysis, will be available to assist all of the principal investigators at different times. The present plan calls the principal investigators and their collaborators to devote about one year to basic research, both at the East-West Center and in Southeast Asia. It also calls for a similar period of time to be devoted to the writing of the book or monograph on the particular theme.

Conferences

Plans call for two Conferences of ASEAN Experts and Principal Investigators: one to be held in Manila in May of 1980, possibly on a cost-shared basis with the University of the Philippines. This conference will be a kind of midway check of research already accomplished and the gathering of ideas about what remains to be done and how it can best be done. The other to be held at the East-West Center, probably in January, 1981, which will have at its purpose a discussion with persons directly involved in the educational process of how the research data and its interpretations can be cast into forms most useful to educators.

This is generally where the project stands in its planning at the moment. We are still in the initial planning stages and we are grateful to Professor Jerome Cohen of the Harvard East Asian Legal Studies Department, who recently spent a day in consultation with us. A number of things remain to be worked out in detail but I will mention only three here:

**Methodology.** The research methods used in this project will necessarily vary somewhat from one to the other depending on the particular item being studied or explored. Yet since each of the books is to be part of the series we will want to make sure from the very beginning that, within tolerable limits, the books are compatible. The general methodology will be social scientific rather than that proper to legal research, philosophical research, or historical research. The fundamental controlling idea behind the research is that we are engaged in culture learning as part of the effort to achieve greater mutual understanding. As one of the principal investigators stated, "Our effort is to determine how Asian is ASEAN?"

Although the precise methodology is still in the process of being clarified, it is most likely that each of the principal investigators will use some combination of the more or less well established social science research methods and techniques: review of the primary and secondary literature, interviews, field observation, conferences and consultations with experts, and such field surveys and questionnaires as may be practicable and appropriate. Data sources, among others, will include the ASEAN Secretariats themselves, the Southeast Asian studies centers, various agencies of the United Nations, and both governmental and non-governmental organizations within ASEAN.

One advantage of the study is that many of the persons at various levels most closely associated with the establishment of ASEAN are still living and might be available for personal interviews. Finally, the question of methodology in individual cases will depend on whether the investigation is seen primarily as an attempt to measure impacts already being felt and experienced or as an attempt to establish initial bench marks against which trends or movements just beginning to take shape can be measured at a later date.

**Cost-sharing.** The project as now designed has fairly limited objectives and we should be able to achieve them with the appropriated funds budgeted by the East-West Culture Learning Institute. However, our preliminary discussions and consultations have evidenced a high degree of interest in the project, based both on the great importance of ASEAN as a regional organization and on the distinctiveness of the project's approach. It might be possible to secure funding or cost sharing from such sources as philanthropic foundations, centers of East and Southeast Asian studies, institutions of higher education, or government agencies in various countries, including the ASEAN countries themselves.

If outside funding or cost-sharing should become available, the project would be expanded in scope, not extended in time. Items for which outside funding or cost sharing might be
sought include but are not limited to: (1) Stipends to pay co-researcher for specific field research; (2) conferences or seminars of experts on each of the themes in the project to be held at the East-West Center or elsewhere; (3) publication subsidies; (4) translation costs; (5) documentation center expenses; (6) video-taping and filming expenses.

Some of the cost-sharing could be in-kind contributions for example, the release of a certain percentage of a professor's time to enable him or her to work on the project. Other funding might take the form of direct monetary grants for specific purposes.

**Dissemination, evaluation and follow-up.** These are essential components of the master plan or detailed agenda for the project to which the team has as yet given only slight attention. They are mentioned briefly here because they will be questions on which the team will be working in the months ahead. They will be included among the things we will be discussing with the participants in the planning seminar to which seven persons from Asia and the Pacific and three from the United States have been invited, March 12-23, 1979.

In keeping with the East-West Center's policy that the dissemination of research findings are to be considered an integral part of each of its projects, our team has made the initial decision to seek educational outlets for the materials it produces. As indicated earlier this dissemination may take the form of both audio-visual and written materials. Also, the same basic research data can be presented in different ways depending on whether it is intended for scholarly journals or for broader educational purposes. The project encourages publication in scholarly journals but the primary output, that is, the series of books on "The Socio-Cultural Impact of the ASEAN Treaties" will be written for those in senior high schools, liberal arts colleges, and continuing education programs in the US and for their equivalents in other countries through translations.

One idea we have been considering is to invite an educational consultant or curriculum writer to work with each of the principal investigators at the organizational stage of his or her research effort on the specific themes. This would help ensure that the kinds of analysis and data gathering actually undertaken do not overlook or neglect areas that would later prove necessary to the disseminating of results in educational programs. As indicated earlier, a conference for educational specialists is definitely planned for the early writing stage of the project.

Every East-West Center project team expects to be evaluated on the basis of how well it achieves the objectives it sets for itself and on how well it has met the East-West Center criteria. It is not too early to start building an evaluation awareness as well as an evaluation mechanism into the very structure of the project. We have not done so as yet.

Evaluation of this project and other East-West Center projects takes on special significance because it helps to determine whether to follow-up the project with another similar to it or to change research directions altogether. All projects are of limited duration: this one is due for completion at the end of the fiscal year 1983.

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**THE EAST-WEST CENTER** is a national educational institution established in Hawaii by the U.S. Congress in 1960 to promote better relations and understanding between the United States and the nations of Asia and the Pacific through cooperative study, training, and research. Each year more than 1,500 men and women from many nations and cultures work together in problem-oriented institutes or on "open" grants as they seek solutions to problems of mutual consequence to East and West. For each Center participant from the United States, two participants are sought from the Asian and Pacific area. The U.S. Congress provides basic funding for programs and a variety of awards, and the Center is administered by a public, nonprofit corporation with an international Board of Governors.

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Professor Lee Chae-Suk of the College of Music, Seoul National University, and Dr. Lee Byong Won of the University of Hawaii presented a lecture-demonstration on Korean Kayagum Music in August, 1979, as part of the Institute's continuing "Cultural Manifestations" series.
A special presentation of traditional Hawaiian music and dance was sponsored by the East-West Culture Learning Institute on October 18, 1979. Drawing upwards of 800 people from the East-West Center and the Honolulu community, the concert featured the Men of Waimapuna, the Hawaiian Isles Serenaders, and the women dancers of the Halau o Kahamoku.

A 26-member troop visiting the center from Rarotonga, Cook Islands, joined in the festivities and in Polynesian fashion, contributed to the performance (to the left).